CATHOLIC GRIEVANCES

IN RELATION TO THE

ADMINISTRATION

OF

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BEING A REPORT PRESENTED TO THE CATHOLIC YOUNG MEN'S NATIONAL UNION, AT ITS EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, HELD IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, MAY 10TH AND 11TH, 1882.

Prepared by Edmond Mallet.

"LO! THE POOR INDIAN!"

RICHMOND:
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TO THE READER.

The following brief historical sketch of the working of the Indian Peace Policy, in so far as it affects Catholic Indians and Catholic missionary labor among the tribes, is a Report presented to the Catholic Young Men's National Union, at its recent convention, held at Boston, Mass., by the special committee appointed to consider the matter. The Convention ordered its publication, in pamphlet form, for circulation among the members of the associations comprising the Union, and the Catholic people generally. Copies may be obtained from the Secretary of the Union, Mr. JUAN A. PIZZINI, No. 8 Twelfth street, Richmond, Va.

EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

CATHOLIC YOUNG MEN'S NATIONAL UNION,

BOSTON, MASS., MAY 11, 1882.

Report of the Committee appointed to Inquire into Catholic Grievances in Relation to the Administration of Indian Affairs.

Your committee would respectfully report that they have carefully examined into the present Indian policy of the Government, in so far as that policy affects Catholic Indians and Catholic missionary labors among the tribes, and find so extraordinary a condition of affairs that they deem it both necessary and a duty to place a detailed statement before the Convention. The committee, in the outset, felt that it was desirable to present a very brief report; but the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the question under consideration, and the unusual character of the testimony bearing upon this subject, admonished them that if they would do more than repeat the meaningless generalities usually recited in speaking of this subject, they must appeal to the intelligence and patience of the Convention, and present a report of sufficient length to show, not only the fact of well grounded causes for complaint, but also the reason of the existence of Catholic grievances.

THE OLD REGIME IN INDIAN AFFAIRS.

At the beginning of President Grant's administration the Indians were governed by Indian agents, appointed, like other civil officers, upon the recommendation of influential political and social friends. In theory always, and in practice generally, fair-minded men were selected, since the powers conferred upon them by the Government were almost unlimited over persons and things

within the immense territorial boundaries of their agencies, and since the Government, in accordance with the spirit of American institutions, recognized it as its duty to treat the missionary labors of all Christian denominations upon the reservations with equal consideration. Under this just policy the missionary genius of the Catholic Church almost everywhere manifested itself in the self-sacrificing devotion of her missionaries and the advancement, spiritual and temporal, of numerous tribes emerging from barbarism or reclaimed from the ruins of the old Catholic missions of New France and New Spain. Thus Father De Smet, and his companions of the Society of Jesus, were the recognized spiritual guides of the Flatheads and other tribes of the Rocky Mountains; Father Chirouse, and his brethren of the Order of Oblates, of the Snchomish and the numerous other tribes on Puget Sound; Bishop Salpointe, of the Papagoes in Arizona; and Bishop Lamy, of the Pueblos in New Mexico. The Mission Indians in California; the Pottawatomies, Miamis, and Osages in Kansas; the Menominees in Wisconsin; the Chippewas in Minnesota, and others, were Catholics, and had Catholic churches and, in some cases, schools, upon their reservations. The Protestants were also in the Indian country, converting and teaching the Indians in their own way. Generally speaking there were no religious animosities, since the Government protected all alike and discriminated against none.

It must be confessed, however, that neither the spiritual nor temporal interests of the great body of the Indians were in a perfectly satisfactory condition. The permanent missions were, generally, very poor, while many of the missionary stations were sadly neglected; the country was just emerging from the civil war, and numerous abuses had crept into the civil administration of Indian affairs.

REMOTE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESENT INDIAN POLICY.

On March 3, 1865, Congress provided for the appointment of a joint special committee of the two Houses of Congress to inquire into the condition of the Indian tribes, and their treat-

ment by the civil and military authorities of the United States. A report entitled, "The Condition of the Indian Tribes," 8vo., pp. 532, Washington, 1867, containing details of horrible cruelties by the military during the recent Indian uprising, and of outrageous acts of maladministration by the civil authorities, was the result of the investigation. Circulated as a public document, the volume created a profound sensation in certain quarters. The philanthropists and the Protestant churches, as well as a certain portion of the press, immediately took up the subject, and, by means of petitions, delegations, and an awakened public opinion, succeeded in getting Congress to take action to ameliorate the condition of the "wards of the nation."

In compliance with the wish of the country—as expressed through philanthropic and religious lobbyists—Congress, in the Indian appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1870, appropriated the sum of $2,000,000, in addition to the usual amount appropriated annually, to enable the President to maintain peace among the tribes and to promote their civilization; and the further sum of $25,000 for the traveling and incidental expenses of a Board of Indian Commissioners, which the President was authorized to appoint, at his discretion, the members to be selected *from men eminent for their intelligence and philanthropy*, to serve without compensation, and to exercise joint control with the Indian Department over the disbursements of the $2,000,000 appropriated by the act.

In the month of May, 1869, the President appointed, as members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, nine Protestant gentlemen, *distinguished for their eminent standing in their respective churches or Young Men's Christian Associations*, namely: William Welsh and George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia; Wm. E. Dodge and Nathan Bishop, of New York; Felix Brunot, of Pittsburgh; John V. Farwell, of Chicago; Robert Campbell, of St. Louis; E. S. Tobey, of Boston, and Henry S. Lane, of Indiana. According to the testimony of Mr. A. C. Barstow, President of the Board as constituted in 1878, given before a joint committee of Congress in that year, these

gentlemen and their successors were appointed upon the direct recommendation of their respective churches or religious societies, which recommendations were invited by the President and the Department of the Interior.(*)

At about the same time, *i. e.*, in the summer of 1869, President Grant re-organized the Indian service at the agencies by removing all the old agents and appointing in their place members of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, upon the recommendation of their religious societies, for the tribes of Nebraska, Kansas, and Indian Territory; and army officers for the other tribes of the country, excepting those in the State of Oregon.

The placing of the Nebraska and Kansas superintendencies, and that of the Indian Territory, under the care of the Quakers was the initial blow at the religious liberty of the Indians. Among others the Catholic Osages protested against the tyranny of the Quaker policy, but justice yet remains to be done them.

The placing of the army officers over the agencies in the Territories, on the other hand, was attended with no evil results to the Catholic Indians, as their religious rights were not interfered with. It may even be said that in certain localities they were benefitted by the change, since the military officers, with proverbial chivalry, righted their wrongs and exposed the rascality of those who had in the past tyrannized over them and deceived the Government. The following extract from the report of Lieut. Smith, Indian agent for the Yakimas in Washington Territory, will illustrate the tyranny and deception practised by his reverend predecessor:

"I cannot here omit to remark that I have noticed a great desire by many who have not devoted themselves heretofore to farming to do so, if only their request for help as regards implements, &c., could be responded to. As a general fact I have observed that those pertaining to the Methodist Church are well supplied with such material, and, I may say, well to do in most respects; whereas those adhering to the Catholic faith have little or nothing. This state of affairs suggests the conclusion that sectarian prejudices predomi-

*Senate Misc. Doc. No. 53, 15th Congress, 3d session, p. 236.

nated and influenced the distribution of supplies, (intended for all alike,) and to the detriment of such as chose to differ with the agent in religious doctrines and observances. Since I commenced my duties here I have made no distinction; the sick and needy have been my first care; and while seeking them out complaints of unequal treatment in previous years have been made to me by the Indians. They plainly affirm that the Methodists could get all they asked for, while to the Catholics most everything was denied.

"Furthermore, by comparing the highly-favorable reports made from this agency in previous years, copies of which are on file in this office now, regarding the wealth and industry of Yakama Indians on this reserve, with the result of my inquiries instituted on this subject, the conclusion forces itself to my mind that these reports were grossly exaggerated far from the true state of affairs, and must have been so colored with a view to create certain favorable impressions personally. For instance, from reliable sources I learn that the Indians never possessed over about 800 head of cattle, (and that number even is considered as overestimated by some persons,) instead of 1,600 as reported last. The quantity of feet of lumber reported as having been sawed for them should also make a greater show in frame houses, barns, and other improvements than actually exists. Instead of, as affirmed by the agent, 5,000 bushels of wheat having been sold by the Indians, facts prove that only 500 bushels at the most were disposed of by sale from their surplus. So has every article of produce been overrated in the same ratio. In one word, these glowing reports have been far from the truth, but must have been purposely and systematically exaggerated."(*)

IMMEDIATE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESENT POLICY.

The army officers detailed as Indian agents had scarcely reached their agencies when the philanthopists and the Protestant societies again pressed their views upon the attention of Congress. The result was that the appropriation bill for the next fiscal year prohibited the employment of army officers as Indian agents. The Board of Indian Commissioners, through its secretary, Mr. Vincent Colyer, at once determined to secure the agencies for their own churches. This led to the allotment of the Indian agencies among the several denominations—the

*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1870, pp. 32, 33.

most direct and far-reaching assault upon the principle of liberty of conscience made by the Government since the establishment of the Republic.

BY WHOM AND HOW THE AGENCIES WERE ALLOTTED.

The Board of Indian Commissioners, in their official report for the year 1870, have themselves given a history of the persons who formulated the plans of allotting the agencies, and the manner in which it was done. So important is that portion of their report treating of this subject that it is here given entire:

"INDIAN RESERVATIONS PLACED UNDER CARE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.

"The clause which had been inserted in the Army bill, preventing officers from holding Indian agencies or other civil positions, induced the secretary of the board early to recommend to the Secretary of the Interior the policy of placing the Indian reservations under the care of the Christian denominations of the country. This recommendation was an extension of the policy already adopted by the President, in placing the superintendency of Nebraska, and that for Kansas and the Indian Territory, under the care of the Society of Friends. The Secretary of the Interior approving of this plan, called the attention of the President to the suggestion, who took it into consideration. Meanwhile, the secretary of the board went to New York, where the headquarters of most of the missionary societies are located, to consult with the officers of these bodies, and to ascertain whether they would accept the responsibilities of recommending suitable men for Indian agents. He found these officers at first reluctant to undertake the responsibility. Upon further consideration, the Rev. Dr. Lowrie, secretary of the Presbyterian board; Rev. Dr. Harris, secretary of the Methodist board; Rev. Dr. Backus, secretary of the Baptist board; Rev. Dr. Ferris, secretary of the Reformed Church board; Rev. Dr. Twing, secretary of the Episcopal Church mission; Rev. Mr. Anthon, secretary of the American Episcopal Church missionary society; Rev. Dr. Whipple, secretary of the Congregational board, who, with Dr. S. B. Treat, secretary of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was communicated with by letter, all agreed to present the subject to the favorable consideration of their respective boards. Dr. Cady, chief clerk of the Indian Department, communicated

with the Roman Catholics, of which church he was a zealous member, and communications were also sent to other denominations.

"On his return to Washington, the secretary of the board was officially informed by Secretary Cox that the President approved of the plan of enlisting the co-operation of the Christian missionary societies in behalf of the Indians, and the secretary of the board was directed to open an official correspondence with these societies, which was immediately done. Before final action was taken on these communications, Commissioner Bishop invited the secretaries of the various missionary societies to hold an informal conference on the subject, in the office of the Rev. Dr. Lowrie, who cordially co-operated in this movement. After a free interchange of views, the officers of all the societies agreed to report to their respective boards in favor of recommending well-tried Christian men for Indian agents. They accepted the responsibility, and letters announcing their action were addressed to the commission. (See correspondence in Appendix 24.) On the receipt of this information, the Secretary of the Interior applied to the Indian Office for the location of the various mission schools in the Indian country, and finding but little information on the subject in that office, applied to the secretary of the board, requesting him to furnish information, and to draw up an outline sketch of how the agencies should be alloted to the several missionary societies. (See Appendix 25.) The brief report which the secretary of the board made in reply to this request was accompanied with a map, on which was marked out, in different hues with water color, the various Indian agencies and the Christian denominations to which they could be assigned in harmony with the mission work already begun at the agencies. This letter and map formed the initial guide to the present allotments. Some portions of the Indian country, such as California, Oregon, and Washington Territory, were left unassigned. They have since been assigned to the Methodist and Catholic churches. The Nez Perces reservation in Idaho and the Umatilla in Oregon were, by mistake, assigned, the former to the Roman Catholics and the latter to the Methodists. On the visit of the secretary of the board to that country in the fall he discovered the error, and on his reporting the facts to the Interior Department, by direction of the President, the errors were corrected." (*)

A few extracts from the correspondence, appendix 24, referred to above, will further illustrate the subject under con-

* Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the year 1870, pp. 4, 5.

sideration. In the following letter from Mr. Colyer to Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, chairman of the executive committee, American Church Missionary Society, will be seen how prodigal the Board of Indian Commissioners was with the interests of the Indians:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 24, 1870.

"DEAR DOCTOR: For nearly a year past I have been earnestly striving to have the care of the Indians of our country taken out of the hands of the politicians and the Army, and placed under the care of Christian churches, and at last the President, under God, has consented to the change. Congress having forbidden officers of the Army to hold civil positions, fifty and more vacate the offices of Indian agents, and their places in the early part of next month, must be supplied by other persons. The President says that if Christian denominations will take charge of other Indian reservations as the Friends have done in the two superintendencies in Kansas and Nebraska, he will gladly appoint such persons, clergymen or laymen, as they may nominate.

"I have already written to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, of which Rev. John C. Lowrie is secretary, and under the guidance of Mr. William E. Dodge and Howard Crosby, D. D., they will take charge of the Navajo reservation in New Mexico and other tribes thereabouts. Now I write you to know if the American Church Missionary Society will not come forward, and, looking over the field in Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, and Nebraska, select a field and tribes, and assume at once the responsibility and nominate suitable men to the honorable Secretary of the Interior as agents. The salary is small, only $1,500 for agents and $2,000 for general superintendents, except in California, where it is more. The amount of goods and money they have to handle in some cases is considerable, so that honest men are essential.

"It is the first time in many years that our churches have had so large an opportunity for usefulness, and I trust that the project will appear to you favorably, and that you will use your influence to aid us promptly.

"The honorable Secretary of the Interior wishes me to write

this letter and will indorse all I say, and cordially co-operate with your society in every practicable way.

"I write in haste per mail. "Yours, truly,

"VINCENT COLYER.

"REV. STEPHEN H. TYNG, D. D.,

"*New York, Chairman Ex. Com. Am. Ch. Miss. Society.*" (*)

In another communication, addressed to Rev. Mr. Anthon of the same society, Mr. Colyer says:

"I trust that you will bring this subject to the prayerful consideration of your society, remembering that here is not a body of poor paupers, who are to be thrown on your charity unprovided for, and who will only be a heavy burden, but that here are poor people who come to you with means and power placed at your command to provide for and protect them with." (†)

The partiality of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Cox, for the Presbyterians is further shown by the following brief extract from a letter of Mr. Colyer to Rev. Dr. Lowrie, secretary of the Presbyterian Board Home Mission; Mr. Colyer is speaking of Secretary Cox:

"He said that he deeply regretted the circumstances, as there was nothing he so much desired as the hearty co-operation of societies like your own; that he would do everything in his power to both foster and encourage your efforts, meeting you more than half way in anything you would be willing to undertake, and he wished me to say this to you."(‡)

The Methodists heartily approved of the new policy, as appears from the following communication from Rev. Dr. Durbin:

"MISSION ROOMS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

"805 *Broadway, New York, June* 25, 1870.

"DEAR SIR: We, the secretaries of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, took an early opportunity to report to our proper committee the substance and many of the particulars of the conversation we had with you in our office a day or two ago, touching the President's Indian policy. The committee was so impressed by its wisdom and utility that they communicated informally to our board of managers yesterday

* Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, for the year 1870, p. 96.

† Ibid., p. 96.

‡ Ibid, p. 94.

their convictions. A free and full conversation ensued among the members of the board, which resulted in the unanimous adoption of the following resolutions, viz:

"1. *Resolved*, That we, the board of managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, do heartily approve of the Indian policy of the President of the United States as indicated by Mr. Vincent Colyer, and that we will co-operate with him in the same. * * *" (*)

Even the churches that had no missions in the Indian country were provided for by the liberal gentlemen of the Board of Indian Commissioners, as appears from a communication from the Dutch Reformed Church:

"34 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK, *September* 16, 1870.

"MY DEAR SIR: At the meeting of the executive board of foreign missions of the Reformed Church, held September 7, 1870, it was—

"*Resolved*, That Mr. Charles G. Curtis, of Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York, and Mr. F. M. Mead of Danbury, Fairfield County, Connecticut, be nominated to the United States Government as suitable persons for appointment as Indian agents.

"We settled nothing in regard to location, not being possessed of sufficient information. Besides, it seemed best to us those gentlemen should confer with the board of commissioners, and themselves select their place of labor.

"We expect as soon as possible to undertake the Christian instruction of the selected tribes. We must find the proper men as missionaries or teachers, and that will demand a little time. The disposition of our board is to co-operate heartily with the Government in the endeavor to improve the disposition and condition of our American Indians.

"If we can carry out our own methods of working—and there does not seem to be any reason why we may not—we may expect, under God, to accomplish results as desirable as those obtained in China and India by our representatives there. The main difficulty will be to obtain the services of just such men as we wish for.

* Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, for the year 1870, p. 97.

"If there is any information, or any directions that we ought to have, be so kind as to let me have them.

"Respectfully and sincerely yours,

"J. M. FERRIS,

"*Corresponding Secretary.*

"VINCENT COLYER, ESQ., *Secretary, &c.*" (†)

As regards the Catholics, it does not appear that they were consulted with concerning the matter. If Dr. Cady corresponded with the representatives of the Catholic missions, which is doubtful, it does not appear in the correspondence in Appendix 24.

As has already appeared, the allotment of the agencies was made upon the basis of a report and map prepared by Mr. Colyer. The following is the report in question:

"INITIAL LETTER DIVIDING THE INDIAN AGENCIES AMONG THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETIES.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 11, 1870.

"SIR: Agreeably to your suggestion of yesterday I have made a rapid sketch of localities where the various Christian denominations of our country may most naturally follow up their work, in most instances already commenced, on behalf of the Indians.

"First in order come the Quakers, the Orthodox branch of which society is already established in Kansas and the Western Indian Territory.

"Going south, next in order come the Baptists in Cherokee country, side by side with the Presbyterians, or rather the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, of which Rev. Mr. Treat, of Boston, is secretary. These two societies have had the *larger part of the mission* work to do in the eastern side of the Indian Territory among the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and others, and although other societies are working efficiently there, the prominence of these two societies ought to give them the choice of agent or general superintendent.

"Crossing the northern plains of Texas you meet the Wichitas, Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and the Apaches. These are now in the care of the orthodox Quakers.

"Next across in New Mexico, which is more directly reached by

† Ibid p. 99, 100.

way of Kansas Pacific Railroad, you have first the Utes near Maxwell's at the base of the Rattoon Mountains. These you can assign to the American Missionary Society, Rev. Mr. Whipple, secretary; and you can continue their mission field down into Southern New Mexico and Arizona, giving them a portion of the Pueblo villages, on the Rio Grande, and the Apaches of New Mexico and Southeastern Arizona. Other Pueblo villages on the Rio Grande are claimed by the Roman Catholics, and as they have missions there these can be assigned to them. Passing westward you come to the Navajoes, Moquis, Pimas, and these, together with the Utes on the San Juan River, ought to be assigned to the Presbyterian Board, which already has missions there, and they are alone in that field. The secretary is Rev. Mr. Lowrie, 20 Centre street, New York.

"At present the basis of supplies in that direction ceases with the Moquis, and the tribes and people in western Arizona are supplied via San Francisco. The tribes in Western Arizona are assigned to the Reformed Church, of which Rev. Mr. Ferris is secretary, office corner of Vesey and Church street, New York; this society formerly known as the 'Dutch' Reformed Church.

"As these tribes will hereafter be supplied via Union Pacific Railroad and Salt Lake, I have continued (on the map) their mission work up among the tribes in Salt Lake Valley to the railroad.

"As the Roman Catholics already have missions among the Indians on and near Puget Sound, and General Parker says also among the Nez Perces and at the head of the Missouri River, and the Powder River Sioux, I have marked these reservations down to that Church.

"Coming down the Missouri, the great reservation of the Blackfeet, Assinaboines, Piegans, &c., has been placed at the disposal of the Methodists, of which Rev. Dr. J. S. Durbin and Dr. Harris are secretaries, 805 Broadway.

"Continuing down the Missouri, you next come to the Episcopal and American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Societies' missions in Dakota, and these reservations, I think, might without jarring be placed in the care of these two societies. The Episcopal Society is what is known as the Evangelical branch of that Church, and differs only in church discipline from the Presbyterian. The Rev. Mr. Anthon is secretary, 13 Bible House, New York, 'American Church Missionary Society,' and Dr. Treat, of Boston, secretary of the other.

"Along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad the Baptists have established, or are commissioned to establish, mission stations, and as there are numbers of stray bands of Indians along that railroad I have marked these, together with the tribes in Southern Idaho, to the Baptists. Hon. Nathan Bishop, 11 East Twenty-fourth street, New York, will respond to lettters addressed to that society.

"This brings us back to Omaha and Nebraska, and here the Hicksite Society of Friends are already successfully operating.

"In Minnesota the Yankton Sioux are under the hospitable care of the Episcopalians, of which the Hon. William Welsh, of Philadelphia, is the efficient patron.

"In Northern Minnesota, the Chippewas, if not already provided for, might be recommended to the able supervision of the Unitarians, of which society Dr. Henry W. Bellows, of New York, is President.

"These are simply suggestions made in response to your kind request.

"Faithfully, your obedient servant,

"VINCENT COLYER,
"*Secretary of Board.*

"Hon. J. D. Cox, *Secretary of Interior.*" (*)

Thus it appears that the project of allotting the agencies to the different denominations was inaugurated by the Board of Indian Commissioners, composed of Protestant gentlemen exclusively; that the particular methods of putting that plan into operation were traced by its secretary; and that the allotment was made by executive officers in full sympathy with the churches represented by the gentlemen composing the Board, without regard to the wishes or rights of the Christian Indians.

RESULT OF THE ALLOTMENT OF THE AGENCIES TO THE SEVERAL RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

The number of agencies assigned to the several denominations was sixty-nine, according to the official report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1871, as follows:

To the Friends, 16; Baptists, 5; Methodists, 14; Congregationalists, 3; Presbyterians, 10; Christians, 2; Episcopalians, 8;

*Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the year 1870, p. 98.

Dutch Reformed, 2; Catholics, 7; Unitarians, 1; A. B. C. F. M's., Boston, 1.

The agencies allotted to the Catholics were the Tulalip, in Washington Territory; Umatilla, in Oregon; Flathead, in Montana; Fort Hall, in Idaho; Grand River (or Standing Rock), and Devil's Lake, in Dakota, and Papago, in Arizona. Later the Grande Ronde, in Oregon, was substituted for the Fort Hall agency.

By this allotment the Mission Indians, of California, all Catholics, were assigned to the Methodists; the Pueblos of New Mexico, all Catholics, to the Christians or Campbellites, and later to the Presbyterians, and twenty or thirty other tribes, in which a considerable number of Catholics were to be found grouped around their Catholic churches, were placed under the charge of Protestant agents charged to aid in converting them to the denomination to which they (the agents) belonged. This astounding condition of affairs *seems* impossible in this free Republic and in this much vaunted age of enlightenment. Yet it is a fact fully attested by the published official reports of the Indian service.

To show that Catholics are not alone in seeing the great injustice offered to the Christian Indians by the operation of the present policy, your committee here reproduce an editorial article, clipped from the New York *Tribune*, commenting on a letter from General Sherman to Rev. Henry Ward Beecher on the Indian Question:

[From New York Daily Tribune, March 13, 1879.]

"CHURCH AND STATE AMONG THE INDIANS.

"The letter from General Sherman to Mr. Beecher which we published yesterday has probably been read by many people with considerable surprise. The General declares that if the army had the legal custody of the Indians 'every religious denomination professing "peace on earth and good will" should have a fair chance to establish schools, churches and charitable societies among each and all the tribes,' and that the present system of 'letting out' each tribe or sub-division of a tribe 'to some special denomination,

which has a monopoly of the business,' should be brought to an end. It is so obviously just that every church should have 'a fair chance' to convert Indians as well as other heathen, it is so ludicrously inconsistent with the spirit of our institutions to grant to any religious body a 'monopoly' of anything, that Americans who are not familiar with Indian affairs will perhaps wonder what the General is talking about. As usual, however, General Sherman is talking sense. He is not amusing himself with rhetoric. The Indian agencies have been divided up by the United States Government, and assigned, for religious purposes, to fourteen denominations, each of which is, within the limits allotted to it, the established church. Although clergymen of other denominations are sometimes found at these assigned agencies, they remain there only on sufferance; instances have occurred of their forcible expulsion at the demand of the Government missionary, and even of the confiscation by one church of the missionary buildings erected at the cost of an earlier and rival denomination.

"It does not appear that in the distribution of the agencies the preferences of the Indians were at all consulted. General Sherman says that Protestant Indians are in the custody of Catholic priests, and, vice versa, Catholic Indians have been transferred to Protestants. The scheme seems to have been to give every denomination, so far as possible, an equal, or at least proportionate, extent of territory, without much reference to what had already been done in the cultivation of the same fields. The result is that the churches which have maintained extensive Indian missions for a great many years find their spheres of usefulness suddenly contracted by an arbitrary edict from Washington, and churches which have done little are set up among Indians already converted to some other variety of Christianity. By a grotesque blunder all the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico were committed to the Presbyterians, although four-fifths of them are Catholics. If similar transfers have been made from Protestants to Catholics, this mode of striking a balance does not lessen the wrong, but doubles it. The wrong is not upon the missionary but upon the savage.

"Last May, Mr. Fenn, the delegate from Idaho, made a strong speech on this system in the House of Representatives. He charged that the 'grasping church authorities of different religious denominations' were actuated by 'greed and love of power' in attempting to get control of the agencies. That was nonsense, for the life of an Indian missionary offers no temptation except to those who are actuated by true Christian zeal. But Mr. Fenn exposed several

cases in which, if he stated the facts correctly, the United States Government undertook the extraordinary responsibility of converting tribes wholesale from one church to another, with the natural consequence of irritating the Indians and interposing a serious obstacle to the advancement of Christianity and civilization. The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1877 contains at least one illustration of the danger of letting the Government meddle with the religion of the Indians. The Green Bay Agency, in Wisconsin, is one of those assigned to the Congregationalists. It includes the Menomonee Indians, the greater part of whom are said to be Catholics; there are three Catholic churches on the reservation. The official report of the agent, Mr. Joseph C. Bridgman, contains the following passage: 'The four day-schools held in different parts of the reservation were abolished, and a boarding-school established at Keshena. . . At first it met the determined opposition of the Romish priest located here, and only two boarders remained through the term. The priest was assured that so long as he confined his labors to his legitimate church duties and did not interfere with the Government school he might remain upon the reserve, but if he continued to persecute and to excommunicate from his church parents who sent their children to the school he would not be allowed to labor among the people. . . We have enrolled the past term 102 names, mostly Roman Catholics.'

"Whether the priest was right or wrong in forbidding his people to attend this mission boarding-school is not the question. The scanbal is in the spectacle of the United States regulating the religious beliefs, or religious practices, or religious policy of Indians or of anybody else, in any form. We need no clearer demonstration of the mischief of the whole system of allotting missions than this instance of a Government functionary reporting officially to his immediate superior the fruit of his year's labor in enrolling the converts made by another denomination. General Sherman's rule is the only one which an American Government can rightly recognize. It is the rule of 'Hands off, and fair play for all.' We want neither a State church in New-York, nor fourteen State churches among the Indians."

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE INDIAN QUESTION.

Notwithstanding the protests of the Catholic Indians themselves, notably the Chippewas, Osages, and Pueblos; the Catholic clergy and laity, notably of the Archbishop and clergy of the ecclesiastical province of Oregon, and of the societies com-

posing the Catholic Young Men's National Union, and the appeals for redress filed in the Indian Department by the Bureau of Catholic Missions, the so-called peace policy is still in full force, and the religious rights of the Catholic Indians are still ignored. Indeed it appears that progressive steps are being taken further to encroach upon the liberty of conscience of the Catholic Indians through a system of consolidation of agencies. Thus the Papago agency, which was originally assigned to the Catholics, has already been taken away by being consolidated with the Pima and Maricopa agency, allotted to the Dutch Reformed Church; and bills are now pending in Congress for the consolidation of the Tulalip agency with the Nisqually and S'Kokomish agencies, and the removal of the tribes of the Umatilla agency to the Yakima agency, under the charge of the Methodists. Another danger to the Catholic Indians is the placing of their most intelligent and promising children in Indian industrial schools at Forest Grove, Carlisle, and Hampton, all of which are practically Protestant schools, where they are trained to become the future leaders of their people.

CONCLUSION.

From the above facts it appears that the Indian policy of the Government, during the past thirteen years, has been administered by and in the interest of the Protestant churches. Not a single Catholic representative is to be found in either (1) the committees on Indian Affairs of the two Houses of Congress, which frame the laws; (2) the Board of Indian Commissioners, which shapes the administrative policy in accordance with the supposed sentiments of the philanthropic people of the country; (3) the Indian Bureau, which determines and directly administers the policy of the Government, or (4) the corps of Indian inspectors, which investigates charges of maladministration or grievances, furnishing data upon which to base the action of the department in certain cases. Catholics, evidently, are studiously excluded from the service, which is proverbially denominational in its organization, and in the administration of which they

have important interests constantly at stake. Catholics cannot have objections to liberal-minded Protestant gentlemen, as citizens, controlling the Indian policy of the Government, but they have just cause for complaint, when Protestant gentlemen, noted for their ultra-sectarian views, are, as religionists, entrusted with the religious interests of those whose rights they can neither understand nor appreciate, by reason of their sectarian education or blind prejudices.

APPENDIX.

[From The Catholic, Washington, D. C., July 15, 1882.]

OUR CATHOLIC INDIANS.

"*LO! THE POOR INDIAN!*"

We called attention some weeks since, to the fact that a bill was pending in Congress which contemplated consolidating the Tulalip Indian Agency heretofore assigned to the Catholic Church under the "Peace Policy," with the Puyallup and S'Kokomish Agencies, assigned to Protestant denominations. We predicted that the new consolidated agency would not be placed under Catholic supervision, but that the change—like all changes made in the administration of Indian Affairs since the inauguration of the present policy—would redound to the advantage of some denomination which, without Government favor, could never have exerted any perceptible influence over the Indians.

To-day we grieve to have to chronicle the fact that Congress has passed the bill referred to, and that our prediction has passed into the realm of reality.

The consolidated agency is hereafter to be officially known as the *Nisqually, S'Kokomish and Tulalip Agency*, and Mr. Edwin Eells, the old agent of the late S'Kokomish Agency, nominated by the Congregational Church, is to be the future governor of all the tribes of the Puget Sound district, the President having sent in his name to the Senate for confirmation.

A brief historical sketch of the Indians comprised within the present Nisqually, S'Kokomish and Tulalip Agency may be of interest to the sympathetic reader, and we proceed to give an account of them.

When the Hudson's Bay Company established its trading-posts west of the Rocky Mountains, in 1824, it found numerous small tribes of aborigines on the lands bordering Puget Sound, and on the islands which dot that important inland sea. They had never come in contact with the whites except the early exploring expeditions of the Spaniards and English. They were all real flat-heads—except those held in bondage from infancy—and a hospitable and docile people, but steeped in pagan ignorance and barbarism.

The first missionary of any denomination who visited them was Very Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet, then vicar-general to the Bishop of Quebec, but since Archbishop of Oregon. This was in the year 1840. He preached missions amongst them at Nisqually, Whidby's Island, Tulalip Bay and other important points. The Skagets were then a numerous tribe and the appointed their principal chief, Snetlam, a catechist, he having been previously instructed at Cowlitz Prairie, near Fort Vancouver. He was followed by Father Demers, afterwards Bishop of Vancouver's Island, and later, Father Bolduc, now a professor at Laval University, became their missionary.

In 1853 Washington Territory was separated from Oregon, and Governor Isaac I. Stevens made treaties with all the tribes. During the next few years they were gathered upon reservations in the vicinity of their old homes, namely: Snohomish or Tulalip, Swinamish, Lummi, Kitsap or Port Madison, Muckleshoot, Nisqually, Puyallup, Shoalwater, Chehalis, Squaxin, S'Kokomish, and others.

During the terrible Indian wars of 1856 in the Oregon country, the missionaries of the Order of Oblates found themselves obliged to leave their missions among the Walla-Wallas, Yakimas and Cayuses, on account of the hostility of the volunteers, and they retired to Olympia, the capital of Washington Territory, which is situated on the lower end of Puget Sound. From this point the missionaries made frequent visits to all the tribes of the surrounding country. Having met with considerable success, and affairs in the Umatilla and Yakima countries re-

maining unsettled, they determined to establish a permanent mission at some central point on Puget Sound. The Reverend Fathers Chirouse and Durieu accordingly fixed the mission at the mouth of the Snohomish river, at a locality now known as Priest's Point, on the Tulalip reservation, about the year 1858. In a letter dated Snohomish mission, February 15, 1860, addressed to a Father of his order, Father Chirouse gives the following interesting account of his mission:

"What a change, my very dear Father, has been operated in two years among these poor savages, who up to that time had, perhaps, been the most corrupt of all the Indians of America. * * * There are now but few polygamists here and there, and these are ashamed to appear among people of good principles. The greater portion of the gamblers have renounced their impositions and have brought to us their games, which we preserve with the instruments of magic and sorcery, as permanent witnesses of their promises to God. More than nine hundred young men have enrolled themselves in our Temperance Society, and all of them have promised to pay two dollars for the poor and to submit to twenty stripes of the whip if they should again taste intoxicating liquors. Formerly the whisky-sellers made fortunes, but now they are obliged to leave the country for want of occupation. In the two years that have just elapsed, there have been fewer murders committed by reason of drunkenness in the whole of the Puget Sound country, than there were formerly in two months at a single point on the Bay. Formerly nearly all the Indians prostituted their wives and daughters to the whites; to-day all of the two thousand Christians have, generally, a horror of this abominable commerce. Formerly the name of Jesus Christ was hardly known among these poor tribes: since eighteen years a great number had been baptized in their cradles by the first missionaries who visited the country—now each village is surmounted and protected by a long mission cross, which reminds the inhabitants of what they are and what they owe to their Saviour. Upon the sea-shore, in the forest, and even up to the gates of the newly-born cities of the Americans, we see assemblies of poor Indians who say their prayers aloud and sing without fear of the world the praises of the Great Chief on high, of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Angels and the Saints. Formerly the children trembled with fear at the mere mention of the sorcerers; now they make them the objects of their jest. Formerly war decimated these

poor tribes, who sought only to make slaves of each other, and now them seem to make but one people of friends and allies."*

Such was the result of a few years' Catholic missionary labor among the tribes of Puget Sound. Father Chirouse and his companions labored in the same mission twenty-one years—from 1858 to 1878—

> "Consider now how great must be that whole
> Which unto such a part conforms itself." †

We might fill many columns with the testimony of disinterested witnesses, showing the practical work accomplished by the Tulalip mission, but we have space to present only the testimony of Mr. Edmund T. Coleman, an English traveller and explorer, who visited Puget Sound nearly ten years after the date of Father Chirouse's letter, whose statements he fully corroborates. Speaking of the Lummis, he says:

"The Indian town is in the form of a triangle, built around a large wooden crucifix and flag-staff, with an ensign bearing temperance mottoes, and contains forty-eight good, substantial board dwellings, as well as a church, and a number of the old Indian 'rancheries' for smoking and curing salmon. The Indians here are very orderly, and have improved in mechanical skill. * * * Indeed, the Indians conduct morning and evening service in a commendable manner, Old David Crockett being their leader.

"They have already abandoned their ancient barbarous habits, and have adopted those of civilization, temperance and religion. They have also given up the practice of polygamy, flattening heads, holding slaves, and gambling, as well as their belief in 'Tomanusos,' or medicine men. * * * Two years ago, on leaving Mr. Eldridge's for Victoria, I could not get Indians to take me, as Bishop Blanchet, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington Territories, with Father Baudre, of the Tulalip reservation, was making a visitation, and the Indians would not do any work until the bishop had left. Indeed, Father Baudre had scarcely time to eat his meals so anxious were the poor creatures to confess to him. The following exemplifies the religious teaching of the priests: Mr. Stratton was one day walking along the shore of Lummi Island, and met an

* Rapports des Missions du diocese de Quebec, No. 14, p. 116, et seq.
† Dante, Inferno, xxxiv.

Indian woman quite alone. There were steep banks, so that she could not turn back or get away into the woods. She showed some signs of alarm, and as Stratton drew near pulled out a crucifix, and held it up as he passed. It was evident she had been taught that this was a symbol the white man would respect, and that the possessor of it should come to no harm. I observed that the Indians detached for our expeditions regularly retired every night, and kneeling in a row, said their prayers. I could not but contrast their condition favorably with the poor of my own and other densely populated countries. The loveliness of the scenery around, the comfort and ease with which they gain a subsistence, the gentleness and dignity of their manner, nurtured amidst the freedom of their native haunts, all combine to remind one of that pastoral life of the olden time which painters have delighted to illustrate and poets to sing."*

In 1870, when the Department of the Interior allotted the agencies to the several religious denominations the tribes belonging to the Nisqually, Puyallup, Squaxin, Shoalwater, and Chehalis reservations, which formed the Puyallup Agency, and those of the S'Kokomish reservation, which formed the agency of that name, were allotted to the Protestant denominations; while those of the Snohomish, Lummi, Swinamish, Kitsap, and Muckleshoot reservations, which composed the Tulalip Agency, were assigned to the Catholics. Father Chirouse having been appointed agent at Tulalip, he of course continued to exert a beneficial influence over the tribes of his jurisdiction. But his influence waned at the other agencies since the new agents, who represented Protestant churches, held that a Catholic priest had no right to visit a reservation assigned to Protestants, even to administer the consolations of religion to his neophytes.† Both

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* Harper's Monthly Magazine, November, 1869, article: Mountaineering on the Pacific; p. 797.

†The Bishop of Nesqually, in 1873, having obtained formal permission to build a church and re-establish the Catholic mission among the Yakimas, many of whom remained steadfast to their Catholic faith in the face of terrible persecution, the Methodist agent, Rev. J. H. Wilbur, in a protest addressed to the Indian Bureau used the following language:

"The two reservations referred to have been assigned by the President under the new Christian policy, to two Protestant denominations—that of the Nez Perces to the Presbyterian Church, and that of the Yakima Nation to the Methodist, with the expectation on the part of all Protestant Christians that, so far as the religious instruction of these tribes are concerned, those respec-

of the Protestant agencies being without ordained ministers for several years, the blacksmith at Puyallup, and the agent at S'Kokomish, performed the duties of missionaries, preaching, marrying and the like. Father Chirouse's associate continued to make periodical visits to the Catholic Indians of the Protestant agencies—assembling them within or on the outskirts of their reservations, but the adverse influence of the officials necessarily interfered with his labors. Notwithstanding this fact there is to this day—after thirteen years of Protestant *regime* at those agencies, a large Catholic element at all the reservations of Puget Sound, but especially at Puyallup, where one of the chiefs, named Spott, has manifested heroic steadfastness to his religious convictions. No Protestant missionary has ever labored among the tribes of the Tulalip Agency.

The population of the three agencies just consolidated is as follows: S'Kokomish, 724; Puyallup, 1,089; and Tulalip, 2,817—total, 4,630.* From these statistics it appears that the population of the Tulalip Agency is 1,000 more than that of the other two agencies combined. All the Tulalips are Catholics, and a large number of the others are also of the same faith. The last official statement showing "church membership" that

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tive churches were to have entire jurisdiction without the interference of other denominations, most of all without the interference of the Catholic priesthood.

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"To encourage within the lawful jurisdiction of an Indian agent, an element of power and influence that is utterly hostile to all endeavors of the constituted authority, must necessarily prove disastrous to the success of all attempts at true Christian progress not only, but it must prove disastrous to the peace of the reservation, and to the safety of the lives of the resident employes.

"It becomes my conscientious duty, therefore, to remonstrate in the most distinct and positive terms against an order that I know to be fatal to every true interest of the Indians of my agency, and a violation of the precedents and the policy of the Christian administration of Indian Affairs." (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1873, p. 314).

Superintendent R. H. Milroy, in forwarding the above remonstrance, learnedly (?) and modestly (?) said:

* * * 'No authority, not even that of the President of the United States, can legally put 'ANY WHITE MAN, excepting those in the employment of the Indian Department,' upon either the Nez Perces or Yakima reservation without the consent of the Indian tribes belonging to those reservations, the superintendent and the agent of each, all three first had and obtained. The order of the honorable Secretary being in plain violation of this provison of these treaties is of course illegal and void (!!) I therefore most heartily unite with Agent Wilbur in respectfully protesting against the order of which he complains." (Ibid p. 298).

*Annual Report of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the year 1881, pp. 286, 288.

has been printed by the Government, gives the following figures: S'Kokomish (Congregational), 20; Puyallup (Methodist and Presbyterian), 135; Tulalip (Catholic), 2,260.* Under the circumstances was it fair or just that the Congregationalist agent should have been appointed over the consolidated agency?

We are no partizan of the so-called peace policy, by which agents are nominated by the religious societies. We believe that it is contrary to the genius of our American institutions and destructive of liberty of conscience, and we have not failed to express our views unequivocally whenever the opportunity presented itself; but under the circumstances would it not have been better for the Government to have appointed a citizen of Catholic antecedents, in whom three-fourths of the Indians would have had confidence, or even a liberal-minded non-Catholic, whom the great majority of the Indians would not have mistrusted? We have no doubt that Mr. Eells is an honest gentleman and a good citizen, but being the son of an old missionary of the Oregon country who was a participant in the bitter religious controversies of his time, and being himself an ultra-sectarian and the representative of an unsuccessful missionary association, he must be particularly obnoxious to the people at Tulalip whose sympathy and co-operation are necessary to make him attain the objects for which the Government appoints agents.

It must not be supposed that the Indians themselves are ignorant of, or indifferent to, the injustice done them. When the telegraphic news reached them that it was proposed to consolidate their agency with *two* others, they had sagacity enough to know that the destruction of their mission including their Christian schools, was the ultimate object of the proposed legislation. They held meetings and memorialized the Government to spare them from such a blow. Being peaceable, and self-supporting, their wishes were disregarded, for it is only the powerful and war-like tribes that the Government treats with approximate justice.

God have mercy on the poor, powerless Indians!

* Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1876, p. 221.